

301 The glue is a resin (lykyryva in
232 Tapirapé) used by both sexes to anoint the body and hair. Once
[314] crushed, it is mixed with peanut oil (chany). [Ed., the last two
[381] paragraphs of p. 130 and all but the last paragraph of p. 131 are
omitted.]

[108:131] Larger feather ornaments are used by the Tapirapé,
as a rule, only on festive occasions. The Tapirapé Kanchovaní,
however, when I invited him to come with me to the Araguaia,
showed me the large red macaw feathers that he intended to wear
on his head upon reaching the Karajá villages. These are the
[171] feathers prized most highly both in his own tribe and among the
shore dwellers of the big river. I never saw any Tapirapé use them
aside from such occasions. [Ed., the remainder of p. 131 and the
first half of p. 132 are omitted.]

292 [108:132] The circular feather headdress is of the greatest
796 importance to the Tapirapé. Referring to its use in the Thunder
ceremony, Wagley writes (4, 33-34 [Tr., in English at 4, 89-90]):
"... each man making the ceremonial circuit wore an elaborate
[776] headdress--the ankungitána. This headdress infuriates Thunder and
attracts his creatures to the wearer. Without exception all who
292 wore the ankungitána, even Panterí and Urukumú, showed genuine
781 fear and fell unconscious before the forces of Thunder. Before a
man could put the headdress on, a shaman waved it slowly before
[756] his eyes. The shaman then placed the headdress on his head,
blowing smoke through the feathers to take out some of the terrific
'heat.' When Urukumú wore the ankungitána, he began to weave
and stumble before he left the first house of the circle. He then
had to be led and supported by two young men. Before he had
completed one circuit of the village, he was seized by a trance
that seemed even more violent than that of the younger men. His
body was rigid, and he was carried through the remaining circle
of houses to the house at the southwest where he was treated by
Panterí. Panterí likewise was defeated and fell when he wore the
headdress. During his trance he sang snatches of a song, and when
787 he regained consciousness he said he had traveled to the house of
776 Thunder. Later, Panterí [108:133] related to me his experiences
during his trance. His story, freely translated, was this: 'I ate
much smoke and then smoked again. I sang, I saw one large sun;
it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They

787 approached and left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came in
 776 a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (a topi). It wore a small
 headdress of red parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I
 reached to pull out the lip plug (thus Panterí vanquished the topi),
 but it left the house. Then all was dark. (Panterí had not de-
 feated the topi, and it had consequently shot him with his arrow).
 I saw many suns. I traveled, singing as I walked. I walked three
 days, and I climbed a large mountain on the other side of the
 [821] Araguaia. That is where the sun comes up. I saw Thunder; he is
 big, and his body is covered with white hair. He had many feathers
 of the red parrot. I saw many topi and many souls of shamans near
 [775] him. I did not talk but returned fast. He added later that if he
 [756] had touched Thunder's rattle he would have had to stay in the
 other world; he would have died. A few novices, and now and
 292 again a rare layman, wore the ankungitána, and people marveled
 781 at their courage. Most Tapirapé men, however, did not have the
 courage to wear it. The headdress added danger and violence also
 to the sundown phases of the ceremony on the third and fourth days.
 At the height of the excitement, when it was apparent that both the
 powerful shamans had sighted creatures of Thunder, Panterí grabbed
 the headdress, which was hanging from a rafter, and waved it in the
 air, threatening and challenging these enemies. He fell immedi-
 ately, stricken by a panché-iúnwera. Urukumú picked up the
ankungitána. He too then fell unconscious and all the participants
 with him."

825 I have already mentioned that red macaw feathers are prized
 [292] most highly by the Tapirapé. They make up the essential part of
 [237] the circular occipital headdress. Wagley (ibid., Note 30) says in
 this connection: "Red parrot feathers are 'hot like fire,' say the
 [821] Tapirapé; the sun is hot because he wears a large headdress of red
 feathers. This heat always attracts the supernatural. Tapirapé told
 [753] me that an attack of malaria I had was caused by my having left a
 headdress of red parrot feathers hanging openly in my house."

The feather ornament used in the Thunder ceremony does not
 292 touch the head directly when attached to it, but remains separated
 285 by means of a very peculiar wooden edifice (cf. ibid., Fig. 1).
 114 The figures in Wagley's work (ibid., Figs. 1-9) do not provide any
 details about the construction of the headdress or the fastening of the
 feathers. The frame (Photo. 15) that I acquired in Tampitáua

285 belonged to the headdress called angkynghetanohó, [108:134]

● 292 that is to say, the same term written ankungitána by Wagley with
[114] the addition of the augmentative suffix ho. Strips one to one and

a half centimeters wide, taken from a leaf stem of the muriti palm, are folded across in such a way that one tip projects three or four centimeters beyond the other (cf. Fig. 19). The jutting ends

[283] of all the strips lie on the same side when the folded ends are strung on a cord that is twisted clockwise and made up of four threads of vegetable fiber twisted counter-clockwise. The semicircular position of this cord forces the strips into a radiating pattern. In the particular specimen being discussed (Photo. 15), the folded ends are so tightly packed side by side and even on top of each other that the periphery of the semicircle they form measures 27 centimeters. To keep them in this position, the cord is tied with knots at the tips of the semicircle to prevent it from slipping.

[283] At a distance of 13 or 15 centimeters from the folded ends, the strips are entwined with string twisted counter-clockwise and made up of two threads of cotton spun clockwise. These strings lie parallel to each other, close together, and they are dyed a dark brown color. The entwined band takes up from seven and a half to nine centimeters of the longer strip sections, which vary in length from 28 to 30 centimeters. On the side of the shorter section, the entwined band is coated with light-grey clay. The strips are held by this band in such a way that their tips lie a few millimeters apart. This, along with the already-mentioned crowding of the folded ends, produces the semicircular shape reminiscent of the

[774] form that the Tapirapé attribute to certain anchinga, that is to say, "shadows" or spirits, and by which they represent them. The periphery of the frame measures 135 centimeters, and its total width is 70 centimeters. The entwined band consists of 112 strings divided into units of four. These units are due to the fact that two pairs of strings are twined alternately around the strips, and that these pairs twine alternately around each other after their common entwining of each strip. This mutual and alternate penetration of both pairs of strings, with each pair always consisting of the same two strings, is due to the fact that the strings of one pair cross each other when they are entwined by the strings of the other pair. An irregularity arises when the strings of one pair cross twice between two regular crossing points of the strings of the other pair. Both

292 pairs are joined into a knot after having been twined once around
285 every strip. Their starting point at the other end of the band was
also a knot, so that the band displays 28 knots at each end. The
strings are cut three or four centimeters beyond the knot, except
for the strings involved in the four outermost knots on each side.
These strings extend about 30 [108:135] centimeters beyond the
knots on one side, and slightly over 11 centimeters on the other
side. These strings are twisted into a cord in groups of four, while
the other strings are not joined in any way along the three or
four centimeters that extend beyond the knots. The strips, when
they retain their natural curvature, leave an empty space within
their folded ends. The large tail feathers of the red macaw are
inserted in this opening to complete the impressive ornament.
They are kept in an internode of thick cane when not in use.

292 The frame specimen described and reproduced above was the only
one I found in Tampitáua. It was in Maninobó's possession. I
[114] have not found any reference in the literature to such objects among
[171] the Karajá, the Kayapó, or any other Indians. Nor do I know whether
anything like the Tapirapé head "edifice" reproduced by Wagley
is to be found in any other tribe.

292 Reverend Kegel described to me the circular occipital head-
881 dress he saw at the initiation ceremony as a wooden disk about 15
centimeters in diameter and two centimeters thick, blackened with
237 genipap, and bearing three concentric circles of feathers laid out
in a radiating pattern. The inner circle consisted of scalloped,
dark-green duck feathers, the middle one of white jabiru feathers,
and the outer one of red macaw tail feathers. The hair of the boy
who was being initiated was gathered into a pigtail and drawn
through a hole in the center of the disk. [Ed., the last two para-
graphs of p. 135 and the first paragraph of p. 136 are omitted.]

532 [108:136] I saw a large semicircular wooden disk with small
holes in the center hanging from the wall of the men's house in
Tampitáua. The Tapirapé showed me that those holes were meant
for the eyes and that the disk, when covered with a mosaic of
feathers and a crown of macaw feathers, was used as a dance mask
(Photo. 70). Unfortunately, however, I did not have an opportunity
171 to find out the specific function of this mask, which is as distinct
532 from other Tapirapé masks as it is from those of the Karajá (cf.
Krause 2, Plate 20) and which bears no resemblance to the masks

[171] This scarcity may be one of the consequences of the great epi-
 [301] demics, since the dead are buried with all their feather ornaments.
 [182] In addition, the Tapirapé, as cultivators and forest Indians, have
 [764] fewer opportunities to obtain the raw materials for these ornaments
 than the more game-oriented tribes who live close to rivers and to
 other areas rich in bird life.

415 Like the ancient Tupinambá (Léry 159), the Tapirapé keep
 the large macaw feathers in internodes of thick cane (vuananrú).
 [Ed., the last sentence on p. 137, which concludes the section
 in Vol. 108, is omitted.]

237 [109:75] I found a single specimen of a crown of jaguar claws
 292 in Tampititua (Photo. 16). It belonged to Maninohó, who used
 it only for certain daytime dances (Photo. 4). Its name was sim-
 ply chauvuanohó pyampé, "jaguar claw." It consisted of a wooden
 ring that reached one centimeter in width and 20 centimeters in
 diameter, wrapped in cotton thread blackened with genipap^o and
 charcoal. Not only does this thread keep the ring closed, but it
 also holds 14 jaguar claws, all of which are set pointing in the
 same direction. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

301 The use of flowers as a head ornament is unusual among South
 American Indians. I observed it only once in Tampititua. Iravuy,
 a married man 26 years old, returned once from the forest with a
 bunch of flowers in his hand. On entering the village, he met
 Ampitánia on the path and gave her the flowers. This girl, who
 was four or five years old, immediately tied them to her hair.
 [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

304 Male Tapirapé have pierced ears. I was told that among them
 it is the mother who [109:76] makes these perforations in the early
 hours of the day following the birth of her child. She does this
 with the bone needle used in the manufacture of the cotton orna-
 ments called tamankurú. Small pieces of tucum wood [Tr.,
 301 Bactris setosa) or thin cane are placed in the holes, and for initiates
 881 these pieces may reach two centimeters in length. [Ed., the re-
 mainder of the paragraph and the following paragraph are omitted.]

171 To summarize, it may be said that as far as ear ornaments and
 301 their attendant cultural traits are concerned, the Tapirapé differ
 considerably not only from all their neighbors about whom anything
 is known in this connection, but from the ancient Tupinambá as
 well.

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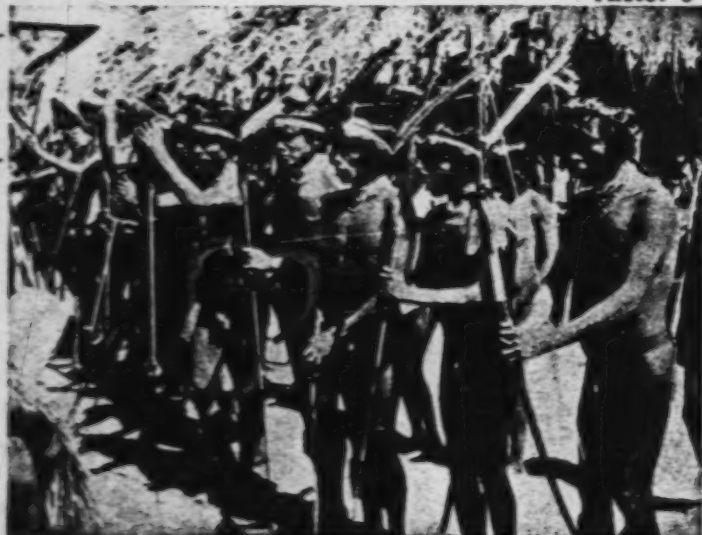
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Photo. 5



The dancers of Photo. 4, with Pancheari (No. 75) and Manupauvynghoi (No. 13) to the right of Inamoreo (No. 23).

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Photo. 6



Manavangk6 (No. 87) with a bone tembetá. Ausyauf (No. 93) is on his left.

Photo. 15

[285]



Framework of headdress without the
feathers.

Photo. 16

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Crown of jaguar team.

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Plate 27.

Tapirapé Dance of Men and Women.

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Plate 28.

Tapirapé Masked Dance.

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Plate 31.

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Tapirapé Woman
Pounding Urucú.



Plate 32.

Tapirapé Masked Dancer.

881 On the eve of the ritual, the preparations begin. The youth's
 [302] body is painted black with genipap. On his face, a black line is
 drawn under the mouth and a circle under the eyes, which are elongated with a line at the corners. The father or uncles put the last
 [346] touches on a large diadem. At dawn on the day of the ceremony, the youth is led to the large ceremonial house built in the center of the Tapirapé village, and his hair is set to support the large
 [292] ankungitana (diadem) made of numerous macaw, parrot, and duck
 [237] feathers fastened to a base of muriti palm and hard wood and weighing about five kilograms. The hair is trimmed and tied into a roll
 [302] on the nape of the neck with a cord at least five meters long, to provide a base for the fastening of the large diadem. The lower lip
 [301] is adorned with a ceremonial quartz tembetá [Tr., cylindrical plug].

The ceremony itself begins late in the morning. For 24 hours
 [535] the youth dances continually, surrounded by his fellow tribesmen and accompanied by the songs and dances of men and women. He dances ill at ease, for he is soon tired by the weight and discomfort of the ornaments. Tapirapé tradition explains this ritual as a test of endurance for the young men. According to one legend, a Tapirapé ancestor called Xavanamu and his son Makanci were captured by an enemy tribe. Xavanamu was eaten, and his son was forced to dance under the weight of a large diadem and the numerous ornaments that covered his body. At the end of a long day of dancing, Makanci, who had retained his strength, managed to flee and disappeared into the woods followed closely by his foes. He vanished on reaching a large hollow trunk. Nowadays, Tapirapé youths wear ornaments similar to those left behind by their ancestor.

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 881 In 1941, when we witnessed the "hair-tying" of the youth
 [881] Kancinampiô, several Tapirapé predicted that he would cry "for he would become very tired during the night," but the boy stood up valiantly to the test. It is in another way, however, that men recall their initiation. One of them said, "When I danced, I was more beautiful than at any other time." It is true that at no other time of life does the individual get so much attention and make such a show with such rich ornaments. And this during adolescence!

Thus, the Tapirapé turn this ceremony into an opportunity for fun, which their men recall more or less in the same manner as our youths recall their first ball.

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[Facing p. 16]

Tapirapé Indian in the Coming-of-age Dance.

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PLATE 19.—Tapirape ceremonies and house construction. *Top, left:* Youth in preparation for puberty ceremony. The large, heavy diadem of macaw feathers will be supported by the lock of hair wrapped in cotton cord. *Top, right:* Shaman wearing dangerous ceremonial headdress during Thunder ceremony. He is intoxicated by tobacco and in a trance state. *Bottom, left:* Construction of men's house. *Bottom, right:* Dance masks representing the "Crying Spirit," one of many forest spirits who are said to come to stay for a time in the men's ceremonial house. (Courtesy Charles Wagley.)

and sometimes a daughter of important people may be treated as a favorite child, being given special attention and education and being highly decorated during various ceremonies in which such children are central figures. Treatment as a "favorite child" brings prestige throughout one's whole life. A son
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Puberty.—When a boy is about 12 years old, he ties his prepucce over the glans penis. His hair is cropped close to his head, and his entire body is painted black with genipa. He substitutes a short mother-of-pearl lip plug for the long bone one worn by young boys. During this time, the boy must sleep in the men's house. His arms and legs are scratched from time to time deep enough to draw blood, so that he will grow strong. 882
[302]
[301]

When he is about 14 years old, his hair is allowed to grow and is tied at the nape of his neck. His hair is not cut for a year or two in preparation for his puberty ceremony, which is considered the most important event in a man's life. On the appointed day, the boy is richly ornamented, the main ornament being a large diadem principally of red macaw feathers set in a heavy block of wood (pl. 19, top, left). This diadem is supported by the hair and weighs well over 10 pounds. For 24 hours the boy is forced to dance continually under the weight of excessive decoration to prove his endurance. [302]
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[292]•

During a girl's first three menstrual cycles, a geometric pattern is traced with genipa on her body. During this time, she must refrain from sexual relations. There is no special puberty ceremony for girls. Girls are usually already married at puberty, especially at present with the lack of women. [302]
[582]

Marriage.—Formerly there was some intervillage antagonism, and people preferred to marry within their own village. Despite such antagonism and the fact that villages were 2 to 3 days' walk apart, considerable intervillage visiting occurred, and genealogies show that intervillage marriage was not rare. Today, with refugees from all villages in the one village, antagonisms and local village patriotism exist only in the memory of older people. 621
[578]
[582]
[574]

Men marry immediately after the initiation rites, and the women, at least in modern times, at any time after the age of 7 or 8 years. People do not marry cousins who are called "brother" and "sister" of close connection, but marriage with those of distant relationship is not infrequent. Monogamy is the absolute rule. 582

Because the population has declined and men outnumber women, marriage rules have been somewhat altered. All women have husbands, and there are now about 10 young men waiting for 7- or 8-year old girls. There are also marriages between men and very young pre-adolescent girls; these are brought about because the men are greatly dependent on the women's work. In such cases, the husband goes to live in his wife's house, where his mother-in-law helps the girl work for him. [161]
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